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554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them. Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but [567] only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer" /formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V. Daily Life

1. Diet

511 The life of the Miao people is very hard; they do not have 262 enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white, polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for [263] cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while eating rice.

[527] It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and 262 have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and 252 their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked, the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask, which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi- [416] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes. When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked. It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

/66 cont'd/

715 Since Taoism has a great influence upon the lives of the Miao,
713 the Taoist priests therefore assume great importance in Miao society. Furthermore, only a man with the qualifications of a Taoist priest has the opportunity to read the classics and receive an education, and thus to acquire specialized knowledge. Consequently, Taoist
534 priests enjoy a higher social status than an ordinary person and with it, many special privileges. Under such circumstances, all families, except those under very poor economic conditions, (the initiation ceremony costs money) always send their sons to be initiated for the Taoist priesthood. The fact that the above-mentioned unweaned child was carried there by his mother shows how anxious the parents are to have their children initiated. /67/

776 2. Names of the Important Gods

There are many gods which are worshiped by the Miao. According to what they told me, the most important gods are the following:

(a) Yü-huang—the greatest god in heaven;
(b) T'u-ti-kung—the greatest god on earth;
(c) Ching-chü-kung—the greatest mountain god;
(d) Hai-lung-wang—the greatest water god.

3. Traces of Totem Worship

771 According to Miao legend, which will be discussed in the next
789 chapter, the dog was their first ancestor; that was their totem.
825 Traces of totem worship still remain in their everyday life. Though
[262] there are dogs in every family, yet they have never killed them for food. They let the dogs die a natural death, or they trade the dogs with the Li people for other commodities. I have observed this kind of transaction. This apparently derives from the old custom
[784] of the totemic society, i.e. "to kill totem animals is taboo." Furthermore, the fact that the seal of the military Taoists was inscribed with an outline of a dog might also have some significance here, which is worth noting. /68/

/133 cont'd/

dear close by and with a long period of hardship ahead yet to go through.

When we arrived at Ang-chi, Headman Lu let us have a room in his reed house to stay in. The place was low and moist, without sunlight, and really inadequate as a place to live in. But, for the sake of our mission to study the peoples here, we had to accept the lower level of living and hygiene. For our food, vegetables were difficult to get, and meat was out of the question; we would have to rely on the canned food we had brought along with us.

/134/ By evening ten or more civilian and military Taoist priests, engaged for the tso chai service, had all arrived, and suddenly there was an air of gaiety and excitement in the bamboo shed. Everybody gathered around the fire to smoke, and we joined them in conversation till late at night.

Second month, twenty-sixth day. (Friday)

In the morning a Miao from Chih-pao village came, and we had a good talk together. He too complained a great deal to me about how hard their life was, how they were being mistreated by other people, how they hoped we could help them ameliorate their present conditions, and, above all, how they wished the government would promote educational institutions for them so that everyone would get a chance to become literate. These fundamental needs were certainly the least they could ask for, but who ever heard their cries, and, among those who heard them, who ever paid attention to them? All my sympathies were for them, and deep in my heart I felt only shame and discomfort.

To feast the tso-chai priests, Headman Lu had ordered some men to go up into the mountains to kill a cow pastured in the wilds and bring it back. We bought two catties of beef from them for 20 copper coins. The meat tasted delicious for supper.

A funeral took place in the afternoon for Headman Lu's younger brother's wife, who had become ill and died the night before; it was very simple. The dead woman left five children, three sons and two

/136 cont'd/

361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Li, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village 164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

008 We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /139/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front, 262 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival, 574 ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality. When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica, 591 etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but 008 their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

/19 cont./

M *101 CC 563 M [162] when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao, according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M [167] (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference, M [131] 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines resides this tribe.

[167] [301] [556] [527] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M [167] [462] [782] [769] (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with M [262] [263] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

M /19 cont./
101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[584] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.
[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

[882] (8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[527] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[584] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[851] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get
[167] married. After a son is born, they then say they have a descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.
[291] (9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[302] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[782] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[769] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.

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(21) Liang Chia Miao. — This tribe like the Wu Chia Miao for the most part reside in villages in Ya-pa-ch'i. They sacrifice to the ancestors by placing a wooden pole on a fire bed without the wooden tablet. They hang up a bamboo basket in a secluded room, and in the basket is placed sacrificial paper money smeared with the blood of the slaughtered ox and pigs. At the end of the year and in the summer and winter months they enter the room, bow to the basket and utter incantations. When they make sacrifices to the spirits they empty the basket and burn the paper money.

(22) T'ung Chia Miao. On New Year's Day they sacrifice to their ancestors and hold banquets. They are good at growing cotton and fond of wild vegetables. In the eighth year of Yung Chen's reign (1730) when the governor of the province, Chao Hung-en, made awards to his army at Hua-yüan, a T'ung Chia woman picked two strange herbs and offered them to him. They were called chih t'ou liu yeh.

The 22 different names for the Miao recorded above can be grouped as follows: The Hung Miao, Wu Chia, and Liang Chia belong to the Hung /Red/ tribe; the He Miao, Yeh T'ou, Tung Tsai, Pa Chai, Ch'ien Miao, Ch'ing Chiang He, Chiu Ku, He Shan, He Ch'ueh, Ch'e Chai, and Tzu Chiang belong to the He /Black/ tribe; the Ch'ing Miao and Hsi Ch'i belong to the Ch'ing /Green/ tribe; the Pe Miao and P'ing Fa belong to the Pe /White/ tribe; the Hua Miao and Tung Miao belong to the Hua /Flower/ tribe. Whether the Yang Pao are pure Miao cannot be ascertained at present for lack of data. The T'ung Chia are identical with the T'ung-jen found today at San-chiang, Lung-sheng, Yung-hsien, Lo-ch'eng, and Ho-ch'ih in Kwangsi. They belong to the Thai-shan group in the southwest and not to the Miao.

From the above it will be seen that the Miao in the three sub-prefectures came largely from Kweichow, first the Hung Miao, next the He Miao, and last the other branches of the Miao. The Hung Miao are the most numerous, and therefore they are best known in the three sub-prefectures.

/66 cont./

245 prevent the seedlings from withering. According to the Miao the tea plant is very sturdy and can resist the cold. It blooms in the ninth and tenth months, the flowers being white in color, and fading in the eleventh month. After the second and third [262] months, "blisters /p'ao/" form, which can be picked and eaten. [443] They taste sweet and sour, and are often sold by the Miao [439] women at the market place. During the seventh and eighth months the fruits ripen, and after being picked they are dried in the sun for three or four days. They split open themselves, disgorging two or four seeds. The seeds also must be dried in [258] the sun in order tomake them dry and crisp, so that they will not get wormy and to insure a lot of oil when expressed.

258 Tung and tea seeds both yield oil. The Miao sell these [439] seeds to the Chinese oil stores, few Miao people expressing the oil themselves. The few who do express tea oil still use a local [412] method. The sun-dried tea seeds are pounded into bits in a mortar. Then they are dry-fried in a pan, Then water is added and brought to a boil. As bubbles of oil float on the surface of the boiling water, they are scooped out with an iron ladle and [415] placed in a bowl. The bubbles of oil are heated again to make the water evaporate, and the residue is tea oil. The residual paste of the tung or tea seeds after the oil has been expressed [241] is called tung paste or tea paste respectively. The tung paste [388] can be used as fertilizer. The tea paste can be used as soap [226] for laundry and also can be ground into powder to be thrown into the river to cause fish to suffocate so that they can be caught easily.

314 Wild indigo plants grow abundantly everywhere in the Miao [249] area. Although the Miao know how to cultivate indigo plants, they also gather wild indigo for dyeing. Wild indigo plants are one to two kung ch'ih in height. A big one has a stalk as thick as a man's thumb, a lone plant without any side branches, reaching toward the sky. The leaves are small and oval in shape, and contain a great deal of indigo. Every year in the eighth and ninth months when the weather is still warm and before the frost comes, the indigo leaves are at their most luxuriant. The Miao go out in numbers to pick wild indigo leaves.

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245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp 248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching [262] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and [23] fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan [439] and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo [227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair. [171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi- [825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain [227] at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/69 cont./

226 [227] from sinking, making it easier for the fish to bite. To catch fish with poison, they isolate a section of the river by erecting dams up and downstream, then cast the poison in the water to render the fish unconscious, when they are picked up. The [278] poisons used include tea paste, lime, potato seeds, willow leaves, and smartweed /t'u liao/. Tea paste, lime, and potato seeds have to be ground into fine powder before they are scattered in the water; the willow leaves and the smartweed are hashed into pulp with a hatchet, put into a bamboo sieve, and dipped into water. The pulp is rubbed against the bamboo with the hand to form a thick liquid, which is thrown into the water near a cleft or a cave in the cliff. When the fish smell the poison they become unconscious and float on the surface, and can be caught easily. Still another method is fishing in an illuminated pool. In such places as a shallow pool or a shallow place over a sand bar, they pick a suitable spot where they put a big rock and dig a deep pool called t'ang k'ou /"pool mouth"/. It is about a kung chih and a half in circumference and encircled with a screen of bamboo splints /Illus. 37-38 on pp. 70-71/ /72/, but with an opening left. Inside are laid slabs of stone, in which the fish love to seek shelter. When night comes the fisherman arrives with a torch. The fish are frightened by the light and struggle to escape, hitting the bamboo screen. Not a single fish is able to escape.

231 [492] [262] [241] The Miao rear cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs, chickens, and ducks. Cattle and pigs are the most important. Not all the cattle are for field work; some are slaughtered and sold for food. Pigs are used for food, and their manure for fertilizer. Horses, sheep, and ducks are comparatively fewer in number. Cats, dogs, and chickens are found in every household.

[245] Mulberry trees are grown in the Miao area. The Miao women also know how to raise silkworms. Formerly they did not know how to hatch the eggs. Every spring when the Chinese [439] started hatching silkworms, groups of them would carry baskets of native products to exchange for silkworms. They reared the

[text continues on p. 103]

/72 cont./

439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between 439 the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one 804 sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was con- 435 sidered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-pei Lan, Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans. There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water

252 [text continues on p. 106]

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Illus. 40. Hsin-chai Market, Feng-huang.

252 into damp meal, pressing it against the edges of a pan, and baking it into a crust /pa-pa/; or grinding it into dry meal and cooking it with rice. There are two kinds of glutinous kaoliang, chan and no. The chan kaoliang is cooked mixed [273] with rice or made into pa-pa. It is also used to make wine. The no kaoliang is not produced in great quantity each year, and is largely used for making wine. There are also these two kinds of rice. There are few inundated rice fields in the Miao area, hence the output of rice is not large. It is large- [239] ly sold to the Chinese, and the Miao themselves consume [262] only a comparatively small quantity. Sweet potatoes are steamed, or shredded first and cooked with rice. Kidney beans are also cooked /75/ with rice.

262 Vegetables include greens /ch'ing ts'ai/, Chinese cabbage /pai ts'ai/, and carrots, turnips /lo-po/, etc. Wild vegetables include bracken, no-mi tsai, wild celery, and wild onions. Meat include beef, pork, chicken, and fish. The things the Miao eat have caused people to note their fondness for eating sour vegetables. We found that they have sour fish, beef, pork, pepper seeds, garlic, leeks, carrots, turnips, etc., greens, taro, Chinese cabbage, bean or pea

/75 cont./

262 pods, eggplant, bracken, etc. The recipes are briefly as follows:

252 There are two ways of making sour fish, raw and cooked. To prepare sour cooked fish, a fish is cut open, cleaned, and dried by the fire in a pan until the scales become yellow. Then it is rubbed with salt and dried in the sun for a few days. It is next mixed with a certain amount of millet and put into a jar. On top of the fish is laid a layer of tung leaves, and the jar is also stopped up with tung leaves. The jar is turned upside down on the ground or in a basin of water which is added to from time to time. The idea is not to allow air to get in. After one month the fish may be taken out and fried. The making of sour raw fish is slightly different. After being split open and cleaned the fish is rubbed with salt, seasoned with spices, and placed in a jar. After four months it can be taken out and eaten either raw or fried in fat or oil.

The preparation of sour beef and pork is identical. The meat is washed with clear water and diced or cut into small pieces and then fried in a pan until it is half done. Some salt is added, and then the meat is dished out into a bowl to cool, mixed with chan rice and no rice powder, and put in a jar. After ten or more days it may be taken out and fried or boiled in water.

There are four kinds of sour peppers — green, red, chan, and no. The green peppers are washed and cooked a little in a pan. They should not be well done, for if well done they spoil easily. They are then taken out and left to dry in the sun. The stems are cut off, and the peppers placed in a jar and covered with tung leaves, and again the jar is stopped up with rice straw and stood inverted in a small basin. After a month they are ready to be eaten. The sour red peppers are made differently. Without cooking or drying in the sun they only cut off the stems, and then put them in a jar in the same way. After a month they may be taken out and fried to eat. According to the Miao this type of sour peppers taste best. The making of the sour chan and no peppers is the same. Either the green

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252 [222] The bracken, chüeh ts'ai, is a wild plant. It is gathered and carried home. It is washed, and after being half cooked, it is strained and dried in the sun. Cooled overnight it is put in a jar, covered with tung leaves, and the jar stopped up with straw and turned upside down in a basin of water just as in making sour cooked fish.

263 The Miao's liking for sour flavor does not seem to be a natural tendency to like sour pungent things. It is probably due to their being in the interior, very far from the sea, where there are no salt wells near by and salt is difficult to obtain. Hence, the Miao were not acquainted with salty flavor. Today in the Miao language there is no distinction made between saltiness and bitterness. During the time when the Miao had no salt at all, for the most part they only had sour pungent foods to whet their appetite. It was so from generation to generation, and today, even though they have salt, they still retain the liking for eating sour pungent things.

264 [415] Formerly, the Miao did not use chopsticks. The cooked rice was turned onto a basin, around which the family members gathered, digging into the rice with both hands. Vegetables were placed in bamboo buckets and earthenware. When they 252 had meat they singed off the hair over the fire and ate it half 262 cooked. They also ate snakes and insects. Snakes were roasted; earthworms were pickled with salt; grasshoppers, bees, and grubs were either roasted or fried. They also mixed rice gruel with fish and maggots to eat, and considered this a delicacy, which was called yin. Rich families kept yin for several [554] generations. (1) /77/ Again, suckling pigs weighing more

1. Tien Ju-ch'eng in his Yen Chiao Chi Wen says: "The southern aborigines mixed buckwheat ashes with millet paste and let it ferment into a pungent agent, into which were thrown fish and

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miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies. The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations." This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

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The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect. Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine, and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

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[177]

Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out the whiskers withthe fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those

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585 She is kept company by those who escorted her here. The brothers of the bride set the bridal chamber in order, and the groom's family gives them one or two strings of cash, a piece of meat, and two cups of wine. First half of the wine is spilled on the floor and the rest is drunk up, but the meat is all consumed. After these things have been done, the wedding feast [574] begins. The dishes include beef, pork, bean-starch vermicelli, [262] bean curd fried in oil, greens, etc. After the meal, the singing begins. Men and women guests gather in a group while 533 men and women of the host family gather in another group. 585 First the host of the groom's family begins to sing, (singing one of the "Welcoming the Bride Songs," see the chapter, "Folk Songs," no. 3). If the opposite side does not take up the singing, they use all means to encourage them. The phrases sung generally consist first of polite exchanges. In addition they sing legends, do Chinese characters, make riddles, and praise each other, etc. In the singing there is winning and losing: for instance, if A 's singing says B is polite, and B is not able to answer, saying he is not polite, then B is reckoned the loser; or if B sings that he himself is ignorant of etiquette, and A fails to sing back of his skill in etiquette, then B is the winner. Again, if A sings the name of a personage of antiquity whom B does not know, or if A offers a riddle which B fails to solve — these would be reckoned losing counts for B. The loser can no longer participate in the singing, and if a whole group fails to sing back the answer to the opposite side, then the whole group loses out. Experts in singing can match songs back and forth all night to a draw. /98/ In the middle of the [264] night they eat mi-pa /rice cakes/ as refreshments. In the singing the women keep things going, for they bring up subjects to be answered by the men. Ordinarily men are easily defeated, because women lose only when they can pick no more subjects for the men to answer. Sometimes the singing lasts for three nights, but usually one or two nights (see chapter, on "Folk Songs," nos. four to 13, "Welcoming the Bride Songs," and nos. 14 to 18, "Songs Sung in Company"). The guests remain

574 585

/194 cont./

1. The Magic of Drawing Water

789 Any magic has three elements: the magician, the ritual,
791 and the incantation; these three, according to Malinowski, are
868 the perpetual trinity of magic. (2) The magician who draws

2. See previously quoted Malinowski, p. 110.

water receives the training from a teacher. The teaching takes place at night in the third night watch and requires a long wooden bench, on which are placed incense, candles, paper money, tea, a cock, a red-ink pen, three chang of green cloth, a pair of shoes, and an envelope of money. The teacher communicates the incantations orally and transmits the ritual by performing them. /195/ Last of all he cuts the skin of his apprentice's head to make it bleed. The human blood and the cock's blood are mixed together with cinnabar for drawing spells and making books. After this has been taught, the student must practice every day within the next 49 days. After this period is over, he practices only on the first and the middle of each month, burning incense as he does so. It is said that if he practices wholeheartedly he will get spiritual help. The magician who learns the magic of drawing water all his life
•[262] must abstain from eating pigeons of the sky and dogs, horses, and monkeys of the land, and eels, turtles, and loaches of the water. An infraction of this rule would make his magic ineffective.

755 The ritual of drawing water: a pair of candles, three sticks
719 of incense, a bowl of uncooked rice, a piece of meat, a cup of clear water, and a quantity of paper money are used. At the beginning of his performance the magician must imagine the situation under which his teacher taught him the art. He first lights the candles, then the incense, which he sticks into the bowl of rice. On the rice there must be put some li-shih money, the amount not being set. After that he takes a cup of water,

/200 cont./

754 [428] of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The [778] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main- 173 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the 754 villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shuts her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became con- scious of what was happening. She went home to change her clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she 754 does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she [829] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but [262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow [753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re- 683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng- 754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 192? AE5 Miao AE5

241

THIS SHOWS THE TERRIBLE WASTE OF TIMBER. THE MIAOS BURN THE GRASS AND FOLIAGE TO SOW THE UPLAND RICE.

at best. They are truly "the eternal pioneers," and one old-young woman told me she had moved *twelve* times in her life of forty-odd years.

231 241 262 Their few pigs they cannot afford to eat except at wedding feasts, but sell them to the Hainanese traders. Chickens and ducks they eat occasionally, and also prepare the salted eggs. They raise very few greens but occasionally will buy them from a neighbouring Loi village. Corn is raised a great deal—a small variety of maize that does very well on the hillsides. The heart of a certain variety of palm tree is a common food, and in times of famine roofs of trees and brakes, bark, anything, must be used to stay the pangs of hunger. A well-to-do family may own a few cows, but they have a curious custom which they often follow, of giving their cows to the neighbouring Lois to care for. The calves of course revert to the original owner, but the Lois use the animals to work their rice fields and to haul the great logs of hardwood to the rivers.

224 261 Bears are found in the mountains, and the Miao prepare pitfalls and traps for them, shooting them when they have been thus captured. A species of small antelope makes very good eating. Wild boar are also often captured, and likewise

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

the porcupine, whose flesh is eaten, and whose shiny black and white quills, often a foot long, have various uses. The flying squirrel is a rarer victim, as only the poisoned dart shot from the crossbow by a skilled hunter is quick enough to strike it. Jungle fowl of all sorts are used for food.

The fishing is usually done on a large scale. If a youngster goes a-fishing, his outfit is a piece of bamboo and a piece of hemp string with a noose on the end, where he nooses his catch. But when the rivers are low a whole village or perhaps several villages will join in a common fishing expedition. Some of the men dam the river, others go to the forest and come back laden with the bark of a certain tree and a certain vine. These barks are pounded in mortars until well macerated, mixed, and pounds and pounds of the "medicine" are poured into the river above the dam. The mixture kills or stupifies the fish, which rise to the top of the water and are easily secured. The catch often amounts to a thousand-odd pounds of fish, not to mention crabs and eels and other creatures. The fish are cleaned immediately and the people eat them without fear although they say that a chicken or duck that eats the entrails will sometimes die from the poison. The fish not wanted for immediate consumption are salted down with a variety of pooped rice and kept for future use. This method may injure the small fish in the river—undoubtedly it does injure them in the immediate vicinity of the catching—but does not have any serious effect on the total supply, apparently.

The costume worn by the men differs very little from that worn by an ordinary Chinese labourer except in the way the coat fastens, as it laps a little to the left and fastens slantingly down the front. The costume worn by the women however, is the distinguishing feature of the people, and is a very attractive outfit in its blue and red with touches of other colour in the head kerchief. For a grown woman, the costume consists of a kerchief, a coat and a short skirt, both dark blue, and dark blue puttees. A narrow red silk girdle, about an inch wide, woven by the women themselves and ending in long fringe, is worn around the hips. The same style of tie, only about a quarter of an inch wide, fastens each puttee just below the knee. The material for the clothing is bought from the traders, and is a coarse, heavy, unbleached cotton cloth. The women dye the goods with indigo and set the colour with pigs blood. The coat is made quite like a Chinese woman's coat, but reaching to the knees and not lapping so far over to the side. A piece of turkey red cotton is embroidered and put on as a narrow collar band; the bottoms of the rather loose sleeves are edged the same

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

cleaning machines, flails—other baskets and trays were kept there (see fig. 13, *b-e*). During the rice harvest it was often piled full of grain until there had been enough sunny days to get it all sunned and stored or sold. When an adult died, the coffin was always set in this room with the foot toward the door. At the lunar New Year glutinous rice paste was pounded in a stone mortar and the cakes shaped in this room. Of course offerings were made here to ancestral spirits and to the gods of the household.

Food. The basis of their diet, like that of the Chinese in the district, was white rice. Except for a short time directly after a good rice harvest, this was mixed with beans or whole wheat flour in tiny balls. With it they ate cooked green vegetables from their own gardens, highly seasoned with salt and hot red or green chillies, fresh or dried. Their gardens had a succession of the following vegetables: turnips, celery, carrots, celery cabbage, spinach, white and sweet potatoes, lettuce root, rape, mustard, various kinds of beans and peas, maize, cucumbers, onions, garlic, leeks, and various other roots. In May, for instance, there were new potatoes, peas, and broad beans in the gardens and bamboo shoots in the thickets, in June green beans, rape leaves, and cabbage. Broth was made of dried beans and peas, and curd from soy beans. Nearly every family raised pigs. The pork was eaten both fresh and in the form of excellent smoked and cured meat and sausages. The blood was also mixed with bean curd and made into sausage. At rare intervals a cow was killed and the meat eaten fresh or dried. Now and then beef was brought into the village or bought in market. Of the bamboo two species were edible. In spring and fall bamboo shoots were much enjoyed. Potatoes were sliced very thin with the skins left on and fried. When corn was ripe it was eaten on the cob after being roasted in the hot ashes, or the kernels were mashed, wrapped in husks, boiled, and eaten from the husks. Persimmon and other pickles were made. If the water in the pond was not too deep in the spring, they dug for two kinds of water chestnut. Small fish were taken from the pond, either fished for with pole and line or caught in the hands as a large number of

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

262 people waded from one end of the pond to
252 the other when it was about waist deep.
252 Two substantial meals were prepared each day, one about midmorning and one about dark. The times varied according to the time of year and its activities. Between these two meals they ate another of cold rice, sometimes heated a little with the reheated water in which the rice had been cooked, and a green vegetable. Just before the lunar New Year they made hundreds of glutinous rice paste cakes, white, black, and red. Then as they sat about the fires visiting, embroidering, smoking, these cakes were toasted for the noon meal. Some of them were stuffed with beans, nicely seasoned; with others they ate brown sugar shaved from the square cakes sold in market or cold boiled green vegetables with chillies. Early in the morning children were seen eating toasted cakes of rice left over from the day before or these toasted glutinous rice cakes. For guests the broth cooking in the bowl was usually of bean curd, chicken, or duck, and the dishes set on the board across the bowl were of beef, chicken, sausage of various kinds, and slices of fat pork rolled in parched glutinous rice.

273 They made their own rice wine. It was al-
574 ways on hand in abundance and drunk freely. An invitation to a feast was always called an invitation to drink wine. Guests were usually offered wine on other occasions, also, when some members of the family would drink with them. They were urged to drink more and at feasts were expected to drink until drunk to the point of garrulousness and hilarity. It was considered bad manners to allow a guest's bowl to become empty, until the guest refused to drink more and asked for rice.

24 Children seemed always to have something
857 to eat in a pocket or tucked in the front of a blouse. It might be corn on the cob, roasted in the ashes, raw carrots, cucumbers or turnips, chestnuts or English walnuts, or sunflower seeds. They were allowed to go and get what they wanted from the gardens, to knock down nuts from the trees, or to gather wild fruits and berries. When the mothers came from gathering fuel they usually brought them such things as branches bearing wild currants and berries, small wild chestnuts or azaleas in season to eat. Also they seldom returned from

5: Hudspeth M-5 (no date) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 sing in their deeply moving sagas of the sanguinary
175 defeats inflicted on their ancestors by the Chinese. From the *Shu Ching* (the Chinese Book of History), we learn that four thousand years ago the Miao-tzu were strongly entrenched in Hunan, where they occasioned considerable trouble to such historic figures as Shun* and his redoubtable successor the Great Yu. Since those faraway days the Miao-tzu have been gradually dispossessed of their lands, driven to the West and brought into subjection, until to-day, though they still retain their distinctive dress and customs, they are entirely under Chinese rule and are called "tame Miao-tzu". This means they have learned agriculture and pay taxes. As recently as one hundred and fifty years ago there were "*seng*" or Independent Miao-tzu, but now all have lost their independence. They are being slowly crushed out or absorbed by the immortal Chinese, and as these have increased the Miao have decreased. In 1860 a great insurrection of the Black Miao broke out in Kweichow, but though it lasted nine years it was finally quelled with indescribable cruelty.

In North-East Yunnan and North-West Kweichow there is to be found to-day a patch of some fifty thousand Flowery Miao and it is with these
262 that this book is mainly concerned. All are
[241] agriculturalists and grow their own food-stuffs; the daily meal consists of steamed wheat, maize, oats, millet or buckwheat and vegetables, with meat not more frequently than once a month. Maize cooked

*Mythical first Emperor of China.

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of large numbers of the people. They can usually afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers, the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. Their laws are those of the Chinese Government, and for money they use whatever is in currency amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbourhood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her husband and her children. This is no light task. The women have very much more work to do than men. They weave the clothes, carry the water, collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear innumerable children, and so well do they manage this that a majority of the mothers are up and about the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress. A man wears sandals, which he himself has made, short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a loose-fitting upper garment which is between a jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth. The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and, scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

262 511 [671] [436] [624] 462 [291] [846] 291

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

101 are also called TAu TAu Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老挖潭 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmoɔ Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

262 241 231 The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependance on wild game, fruit, berries and vegetables.[4] The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包谷飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. [218] Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine.

262 Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

4. One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木坪. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten or / on special occasions.[5]

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street.

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained.

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Pao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twel .h lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bott .1 of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must tep over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the .oor itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and offered raw wth wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked. Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly three. glaɔ dʒy often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that dʒy means original and that glaɔ dʒy means original demon.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 14754 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, so

[5 cont.]

181 609 However, due to repeated instances of swindling and oppression by the Chinese, they are always on their guard and suspicious of every good motive. This discord among the racial groups is entirely the fault of the Chinese, and efforts must be made to eliminate it. Whenever I arrived at a Miao-I village I often found at first wariness and restraint on their part. I understood the cause of such psychology and persisted in dealing with them in good faith. After we came to know each other better, their fear soon gave way to warmth and friendliness, which still lingered on at the time of parting. The Miao-I district I have seen is actually a garden of harmony and happiness. It is hoped that those sympathetic to the Miao-I would continue to visit their areas to influence and help them so as to raise their standard of living to the level of the other people in China.

3. Livelihood

● 262 1) Food. The staple food of the Miao and I consists of rice, corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li [coarse rice?], varying according to localities. The mountain terrain in the northwest produces corn, buckwheat, potato and huang-li, and so so the principal food of the Miao-I people there is corn, which is eaten all year round, white potato, buckwheat and the rest are eaten only occasionally. In the southeast there are more [243] irrigated fields in which rice is produced. The very poor people would eat corn, buckwheat and potato, while the others have both ordinary rice and glutinous rice for food, especially the latter, which is known colloquially as "the Miao glutinous rice." [482] Often one sees a Miao or I traveling with a bamboo basket tied to the waist; this basket contains glutinous rice used as refreshment during recess from work. Usually the Miao-I eat 264 two meals a day, with an extra noon meal during the busy agricultural season. When eating at home, they place the food on a table and sit on stools around it; but sometimes they also eat outdoors, squatting or standing under the eaves. In the kind of food they have and their manner of eating, they are 262 the same as the Chinese. One difference is their fondness of

[5 cont.] One difference is their fondness of
262 hot pepper, [6] of which they use a lot in their dishes. To whet
[263] their appetite while eating, they have a bowl of dried pepper mixed with soup at the table, into which they dip every chopsticksful of food. The second difference lies in the scarcity of meat, their food consisting chiefly of vegetables grown by themselves or bought from the market. The daily dishes are mostly sour cabbage, sour soup, salted cabbage, preserved cabbage and pepper mixed with beancurd in different styles of cooking. The
263 third difference is the scarcity of salt in their cuisine due to the high price of salt in Kweichow. Even the well-to-do Miao-I use it sparingly. They roll a lump of salt in a cooked dish once and then save it for future use to last for a long time. The fourth
312 difference is their lack of water. They live in the high mountains, hence the name "kao-shan Miao" [high mountain Miao], and have to go down to the low land to get their water supply.
[515] The scarcity of water makes them reluctant to wash often. They
[271] are also used to drinking unboiled water and cold rice. Fifthly,
273 they are fond of wine, and their capacity being large, they use big bowls but sip slowly, enjoying all the while. Often they are dead drunk when they come back from the market place or from a party.

291 2) Costumes. The various Miao-I groups retain the special characteristics of their costumes, which have become the symbols of their identification. The colors of their clothes are green, blue, gray, black and white, the other pigments being unavailable. The dress materials of the Miao-I in the northwest are mostly
[439] home-spun hemp fabrics or cotton cloth obtained from the Chinese in the market place. In the southeast they produce
[294] cotton, and spin, weave and dye the cloth at home. They sew the clothes themselves, there being no tailors. The men wear
[302] their hair in chignons piled upon the head and wrapped up in turbans of blue cloth, which are not removed all year round and look like basins. The costumes of the women are not as simple as those of the men as they still retain their ancient styles and forms, which are too elaborate to relate here. Except the I women of the Chung-chia and Tung-chia, who are more progressive and wear long jackets and trousers like the Chinese, all the

! [from the Chinese.-Analyst]

[182 cont.]

796 574 friends and relatives, and the younger generations pay respects to their elders (The New Year gifts for the children vary from ten to twenty cents.) When they exchange visits and greetings they [431] bring with them a couple of home-made tz'u pa (each about 1 sheng of rice), candies and refreshments as gifts. The host and hostesses must entertain the visitors with tea and wine. The tenant farmers also present similar New Year gifts to their landlords, who in return would give them pieces of cloth or other household articles. As a rule such New Year greetings do not extend beyond the twelfth day though intimate relatives may offer theirs until the fifteenth. If a relative who has kept up these New Year visits throughout the past years fails to turn up, the family will be greatly offended. The Miao-I take the New Year greetings very seriously, and hence they should not be neglected.

796 535 The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in the Hsien district have a custom of flower dance. There is a fixed location for the dancing ground, called the "flower bed." The dates for flower dances are set according to schedules in various places, and are generally between the fourth and the fifteenth day of the first month. On this occasion visitors gather like clouds in great jubilation, and it is indeed the most important festival of the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao throughout the year.

796 The fifteenth day of the first month is the "Small New Year" with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao. That evening they put in front of the doorway a small table, on which are placed as sacrificial offerings a bowl of rice, a piece of meat and a cup of rice wine. Burning incense and lighting candles, they would kneel down and pray: "We pray to the Buddha tonight to guide us this year smoothly to wealth and prosperity." After the prayer, the old and young, except the womenfolk, worship in turn. Then they sit down together for a feast in the hall. After dinner they have fun for the rest of the evening. The Chung-chia celebrate the "Small New Year" on the thirtieth day of the first month. Besides other delicacies at the table, [262] [769] every family makes tz'u-pa balls fried in oil, known as "eating oil balls." They make sacrifices to their ancestors in great piety.

[183]

The Second Month. In the second month all New Year festivities are over, and every one among the Miao-I must attend to his duties. If one does not work during the second month, he is adjudged an idler and is ridiculed.

In the middle of the second month, four or five days after the beginning of spring [Feb. 5-18] according to the lunar calendar, the Miao-I in the district have a custom similar to the Chinese there. Any tomb that is not yet three years old is visited by one or two male members of the family with a basket which contains a tray of beancurd, a piece of fried tz'u-pa, a tray of pork, a cup of wine, a bowl of rice, a pair of candles, nine sticks of incense and some paper money. These are offered in sacrifice. A small number of rich families would lay out a feast at the graveyard, and this is called "lan-shê."

The Third Month. On the third day of this month the Miao-I eat tz'u-pa made of buckwheat flour called "ch'iao-erh-pa." In the Ching-ming season [April 5-19] they sweep the grave, a custom known as "hanging the paper." They stick new willow twigs on their door. On the Ch'ing-ming day they first visit the public grave (the oldest grave of the original ancestor), and then their private graves. In preparation for the visit to the public grave they buy collectively a huge pig as well as candles and incense, firecrackers, wine and delicacies. Members of the entire clan in the village go there to make sacrifices, after which they feast themselves at the grave. After the visit to the public grave they separately prepare items of sacrifice to be offered at their private graves. There are also a small number of rich families who would set up several dozen tables of feasts at the family graveyard to entertain the guests. A few days later, if the wind is mild and the weather fine, the mountain side would be dotted with men and women promenading and enjoying nature.

The Fourth Month. The eighth day of this month is observed as a "Buddha-bathing festival" by the local Chinese. The Chung-chia in the hsien district would set up their ancestral tablets, make tz'u-pa, prepare wine and meat, and burn incense for sacrifice. The Chung-chia in this district as well as the Ku-huang Miao (one branch of the Hua Miao) in four or five areas

[183 cont.]

796 consider this day as the birthday of the cow-king, and so all the
[231] cows in the field have a day of rest.

The Fifth Month. The fifth day of this month is the Tuan-yang festival, also known locally as "Tuan-wu." The Miao-I families in the hsien district would steam glutinous rice on the fourth day and mash it into tz'u-pa the next morning. Every
[262] member of the family would receive a few pieces and these are eaten with maple sugar and crushed bean paste in the place of meals for that day. But it is [184] not a holiday and they still work as usual in the fields. Recently many Miao-I imitate the Chinese by hanging rush and artemisia leaves at the door, and at
[262] noon time they drink realgar wine and eat glutinous rice dumplings [wrapped in bamboo leaves] and noodles instead of rice.

After the transplantation of rice-plants in the fourth and
[243] fifth months and at the time of their flowering (called locally "yang flowers") in the seventh and eighth months, the Hua
[535] Miao and the Ch'ing Miao both have a dancing festival as festive as the New Year flower dance.

The Sixth Month. The temples of the local gods in all the Chinese and Miao-I villages in the district are scenes of great celebration on the sixth day of this month. The Miao-I build
[346] their local temples outside the village gate, and on this day they would hold processions in honor of the Earth God. The day before, the village head prepared in advance a big pig and many varieties of meats and vegetables. On the sixth day all the items of sacrifice are carried to the village gate and deposited there in front of the Earth God temple. After setting off the firecrackers, every family takes turns to perform a ritual before the temple. After the sacrifice the pork is divided up among the families, the quantity being designated by each family to be paid for in grain after the autumn harvest. The remainder of the pork together with the other meats and vegetables are cooked together on the spot in a huge cauldron and eaten by all the people present. After feasting each family brings home a small quantity of pork, from which a piece is cut off for sacrifice on the border of one's field. A string of paper money is also stuck there as a token to

M [186 cont.]
79% tea. It is said that this tea, when drunk by old folks, can cure
[278] coughing. On this La-pa day the families cook the soft congee
M rice [chou], known as "la-pa-chou," instead of the hard, dry
●[262] rice. This custom is the same as that of the local Chinese.

M The last day of the twelfth month is the day to banish all
[777] bad luck, and is known as the "Big New Year Eve." On this day all the Miao-I families do a thorough house-cleaning. They go to the mountain to collect bamboo branches and tie them in a bundle to be used as a broom to brush away the dust accumulated during the year. They also wash their household implements and utensils, and thus tidy up the whole house to give it a completely new look both inside and outside. In the morning they make tz'u-pa to feed the cow and buy from the village fair many varieties of New Year delicacies. In the evening they put wine and food outside the gate as offerings to heaven and earth and their ancestors. After the sacrifice they gather together for dinner in the house. They pick out some rice and meat from the table to feed the dog. After dinner the elder of the house distributes cash presents to the children. No one goes to bed on the New Year Eve as candles burn, firecrackers resound, and singing and music from the reed-organ rend the air the whole night until dawn. This is known as keeping the vigil of the year.

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[114] (This article was published in Shê-hui yen-chiu, No. 35, October 22, 1941.)

[190] The Drum Tower in the Tung-chia Area

Ch'en Kuo-chün

S
161 The southern border region of Kweichow province has a subtropical climate and food from nature is comparatively easy to obtain. There the life of the Miao-I people is easier and their physiological growth is faster than that in other Miao-I areas in Kweichow. For this reason the population in this district increases

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/86 cont'd/

found between Miao and T'ou-jen weddings. The importance attached in ethnology to this people is well known. P.W. Koppers, "Die Frage des Mutterrechts und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-right and Totemism in Old China/," p. 996: ...just as the original homogeneity of the Tungus and Tung-hu is so probable...it seems to me that the ancient connection between the Tungus (Proto-Tungus, Pre-Chinese) and Miao-tze has been demonstrated equally as plausibly /cited in German/. Anthropos, 1930.

Mi
585

First, marriages[1] are almost always celebrated at about the same time, November, December, January. One marries young, between 15 and 20 years. Prognostications are necessary in order to be able to marry. The parents decide on the marriage of their children. The wedding meal is always twofold, i.e., taken in two places, at the home of the bridegroom's parents and at the home of the bride's. If the latter is to leave the paternal home to go to be the daughter-in-law in her bridegroom's home, the first meal is taken at her home. On the other hand, it is taken at the bridegroom's home if he is to go to be the son-in-law at the home of the bride's parents. Then there are also husband-sons-in-law. The dinner menu: corn meal, alcohol, pork if desired. The meal is served on tables improvised for the occasion, planks held up by stakes; the meat put on leaves is

Mi
[262]

1 [marriages: Miao marriages --- Analyst]

/86 cont'd/ [MIAO]

Mi 585 [262]

eaten first while drinking alcohol; it is only at the end that the corn meal is brought.... Each guest presents a coin upon his arrival. At the end of the evening meal the newly married man makes the ritual prostrations to the ancestors in the presence of all the assembled relatives, and without pronouncing a single word. He is assisted by his best man, who makes the same prostrations as he, and by an old man who enumerates aloud all the duties he will have to carry out henceforth in the tribe. Then they count the money contributed by the guests, and they take an inventory of the young wife's trousseau. This trousseau consists of clothes, skirts, turbans, belts, puttees, pieces of cloth, etc. Men and women examine...and admire the embroideries. The young wife in a corner weeps and sings to her companions the naive song of the bride...which recalls the elegy of the T'ou-jen bride on the road. At the departure of the guests the door is barricaded with a fagot to prevent the newly married wife from leaving. She watches her relatives leave through the slits of the partition.

Mi [583]

Mo [585 171]

We have spoken in the course of this work, following the notes of Father Schotter, of the girls who accompany the bride to the bridegroom's home.

Mi 582

Monogamy and exogamy seem to have always existed among the Miao. There exists also a law, or rather a custom which

[158 cont.]

"Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large village in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed, or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes, string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

[161 cont.]

177 439 294 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 294 868 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not expect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

273 The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fermentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

317 439 The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

326 [411] The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels, of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not 224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

226 262 The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
402 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

●262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their neckloces.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/75 cont./

M 231 [857] [516] thread attached to them, but are later freed. Since the children are very skilled manually, these animals usually suffer no harm, and the adults, who are very fond of animals, have no reason to interfere. They laugh heartily when they notice that the children treat the animal as if it were one of them.

M [114] [177] I could not find confirmation for Abadie's statement (1)

1. Page 169.

that the Meau train monkeys and travel around with them as jugglers. I presume that the Meau involved were extensively Sinicized.

A 231 [157] Among the Akha the relationship between man and animal is not as good. The Akha are much more brutal with animals, which, to be sure, they do not treat unjustly, but simply without love and harshly. The dogs in the Akha villages have a beaten appearance, are thievish, although they are fed, and receive, never unwarranted, to be sure, but cruelly harsh punishments. The Akha, who, in contrast to the Meau, A M [262] eat dogs, regard the dogs simply as prospective roasts. I only rarely saw children actually play with a dog, but repeatedly A [857] observed that they tortured the animals without interference on the part of the adults, just as I never came across adults admonishing children to have a more humane attitude. In one instance a boy about four years old repeatedly kicked a small dog that was completely at his mercy and could not run away. /76/ The adults sat there indifferently, and the boy would certainly have kicked the animal to death if I had not finally prevented him from doing so.

On the other hand the Akha have a striking predilection for beautiful birds, especially for parrots and lovebirds, which they capture and keep in cages or on perches (see Ill. 49 A 1/2 and the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 199 and 200). These birds, as well as the wood pigeons used as decoys, are well cared for; the children play with them and regard them as delightful housemates.

1/2 [See cat 116, p 334 - ANALYST]

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
[776] to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[231] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses
[782] at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every tabbo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured, there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved, and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their children, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
[846] she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[14] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in
[626] childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.
[164]

I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
765 as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
[262] member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[834] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the
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1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a fall or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well
[756] as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

AKha A04
Miao AE5

Volume Two

/259/ Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

A M 166 361 The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. "The main reason for it is A M [241] [262] the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal A M [648] insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

M 166 361 [731] [756] [623] [622] The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

/340 cont./

224 powder, they make themselves." Abadie (1) confirms this

1. Page 162.

observation. Savina (2), too, expresses himself about the

2. II, p. 230.

hunting of the Meau: "They principally hunt the wild pig, the bear, and the deer. The deer is hunted in the mountains which they burn off every year. It always comes to eat the young shoots under the ashes. The Meau also lure it with [231] [411] pieces of salt. All deer are fond of salt. They are hunted with dogs. Small game is shot with the crossbow."

In Thailand, in the habitation areas of the Meau, conditions are different insofar as burning the jungle for hunting purposes is impossible, since the damp, in part even succulent plants do not burn. In any case, high grass, which would nevertheless make burning on a large scale possible, does not grow under the trees.

224 411 [396] As hunting weapons, the Meau use the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93 and Figs. 316-320),[1] with which effective poisoned arrows are also shot. The flintlock gun (Ill. 78 and Figs. 306-308),[2] which they know how to manufacture themselves, is also important.

224 262 Everything that inhabits the jungle, as long as it has hair or feathers, is regarded as game by the Meau. Everything is used from the mouse to the elephant, from the small mammal to the wild peacock, with the exception of the large black squirrel, although there are, of course, considerable gradations in popularity. Elephant, rhinoceros, deer, muntjac, and wild pig are especially desired. Birds, on the [223] other hand, are less so, because they provide too little meat, as the informants said. Lizards, snakes, and worms, on the other hand, are not eaten.

1 [See cat 116, pp 576, 643, +530 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 576 + 526 - "]

/346 cont./

224 484 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the
[252] [824] [415] [782] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands.
[264] [574] [262] Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[270] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis-
[262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small,
[263] brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He
[264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[Text continues on p. 473]

39: Bernatzik--478 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Mico AE5

/351 cont./

226 [114] [184] The statements in the literature about the fishing of the Meau vary, depending on which territory of the Meau the authors visited. For instance, the information by Abadie (1)

1. Page 162.

is completely opposite to my own observations. He writes: "The Meau are no fishermen, since fish are quite rare in the upper course of the mountain streams. They eat fish, however, both fresh and dried, whenever the opportunity presents itself." [262]

On the other hand, the observations that Savina (2) con-

2. II, p. 230.

veys are entirely different again: "In the evening, after the meal, the young people like to go fishing and search half the night under the rocks. One sees weirs at the foot of all the waterfalls. If one gives pins to the children, they immediately make angling hooks out of them. Communal fishing by villages usually takes place at the beginning of summer, when dams are built in the watercourses in order to put the rice fields on the mountain slopes under water. Then the fish are poisoned by means of the bark and leaves of certain trees, which are thrown into the water in the upper course of the stream." [312] [24] [278]

226 278 Among the Meau in northern Thailand whole troops of men, women, and children join together in order to pursue their favorite pastime, fishing with poison. First the leaves and bark of a certain tree are collected in the forest. When eight carrying baskets are filled, /352/ they are taken to the village, two additional baskets are filled with wood ashes, and then they all set out. When suitable places are reached, that is, deep places in the river bed fed by a scant supply of water, men, women, and children pound with cudgels the bark and the leaves brought along, mix the wood

/355 cont./

243 the first two or three violent thundershowers, the seeding is begun. If the large /extended/ family has many members, the freshly cleared land, which may have large dimensions, is subdivided many times into fields of half a hectare to three hectares, each planted with one certain kind of seed. If, however, it is a matter of a family with fewer members, all the seeds are mixed together, and the mixture is sowed for higgledy-piggledy growth.

224 243 As soon as a field is laid out and the seed is sown, a great number of game and bird traps are set up everywhere. Particularly popular is a kind of self-firing trap for wild pigs and deer, for which a crossbow with poisoned arrows is used. To be sure, they make entering the field very dangerous for anybody who is not familiar with the locality. Moreover, instead of fences which would keep off wild animals, traps are set on compulsory game-trails, in which all game from the pheasant to the wild pig is caught or falls victim to baited snaring devices. The animals caught represent an important [262] contribution to the diet of the Meau, and this is the reason why the fields are not protected by fences from intrusion and possible devastation by animals. Where no traps can be set or if /356/ whole herds of game visit the fields, the young men lie in ambush and in the moonlight capture a rich booty with their poisoned arrows.

243 [184] Savina (1) describes the arrangement of the rice fields

1. II, p. 216.

among the Meau in Indochina somewhat differently: "In the first month, when the New Year's festivals are over, the Meau put their fields in order. If the fields are far away, they stay there for eight to ten days. The men fell the trees with axes, and the women and children cut the grass with knives. In the second month the fields are set afire. Then maize is sowed. When the maize is in bloom, nights are spent in the fields in order to drive off the bears and the monkeys. When the maize [251] is harvested, it is brought to the house. The seed ears are

/357 cont./

243
[262] 1. Rice. It is by far the most important cultivated plant of the Meau in Thailand and actually represents the basis of their diet. Seven different kinds are planted, four of which are glutinous rice and three are so-called white (Chinese) rice. The individual kinds are distinguished by the time until they ripen and also by the size of the grains and ears. All seven kinds belong among the types classified under the concept of mountain rice, which are not cultivated in Europe at all. They grow, independent of artificial irrigation, on cleared slopes. Classified as glutinous rice are the kinds that, when cooked, form a sticky, gelatinous substance, which does not appeal very much to the taste of Europeans. The "white rice," on the other hand, consists of types similar to those available
[177] commercially among us in Europe. The Meau have presumably received these different kinds of rice from the Chinese.

The Meau in Thailand begin to plant rice between the end of May and the beginning of June, with the harvest, depending on the type, three to five months later. At the beginning of the rainy season, after the appropriate ceremonies have been performed (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"), cultivation begins. With the digging stick (Fig. 267), one person punches holes in the ground about five centimeters deep and 50 centimeters apart. He is followed by a second one, who lets eight to ten grains of rice fall into each hole, which, however, are not covered with earth, but rather the rain is supposed to do this. The Meau maintain that otherwise the rice would not get sufficient water for their first development.

At the harvest, the rice is cut individually, high on the stalk (Ill. 92),[1] with a special crescent-shaped knife (Fig. 268), put in bundles, and left lying in this fashion in the fields until it is dry. Then it is gathered together in the field hut and, in part, hulled right in the field /358/ in a special mortar which is operated with a suitable lever (Ill. 96).[2] This rice, as well as the bundles of ears, is then carried into the village (Ill. 93).[3] The rice straw remains standing in the field, rots, and thus forms a fraction of the fertilization so necessary to the soil.

1 [See Cat 116, p642- ANALYST]
2 [" " " p645- "]
3 [" " " p643- "]

/358 cont./

249 2. Poppies. The Meau cultivate three different types, which are recognizable by the color of their flowers. Accordingly, one distinguishes white, red, and purple poppies. At the end of June they are sowed in soil which has been loosened with digging sticks. Tobacco, spinach-like vegetables, or [244] onions also grow in the poppy fields at the same time, which further increases the great importance of the poppy fields for 249 the Meau. Six months after the sowing of the poppies the 276 making of opium begins. For this the nearly ripe poppy heads are slit (Ill. 73)[1] with a three-bladed knife (chapter, "Food and Stimulants," Fig. 289). A whitish juice, the opium, [439] oozes out and is carefully collected. After it has been properly treated, it represents the most valuable article of trade of the 249 Meau. After the opium harvest comes that of the now ripened [262] poppies, which are particularly valued as food on account of their high oil content. Moreover, poppy fields, as was said, can be laid out on old, harvested maize fields, so that the least amount of land is required for their cultivation. If one adds to that the fact that mixed poppy fields remain productive for ten to twenty years, depending on the fertility of the soil, it may be said that they, next to the rice fields, certainly constitute the most important agricultural production area of the Meau.

3. Sugar Cane. Early in May the Meau set out six types, which ripen at different times. Furrows about 17 to 18 centimeters deep are made with the hoe (Figs. 269 and 270) 90 centimeters apart, and the shoots are set out with the help of a setting peg at uniform intervals of about 30 centimeters. At the earliest, harvesting commences eight months after the ensuing cultivation. These sugar-cane beds are productive for three years on the average and then lie fallow.

244 4. Yams. As soon as the cultivation of sugar cane is ended, four different types of this potato-like tuber is planted. For this purpose small pits are dug about 80 centimeters apart, the /359/ pieces of the seed tubers, cut up according to the bud-eyes, are put in, and the pit is covered. The harvest of the early ripening types begins as early as four months later.

1 [See Cat 116, p573 - ANALYST]

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244 On the average, these yam fields are productive equally as long as the rice fields.

5. Cucumbers. Two types of them are sowed at the same time as the rice. As a rule, the procedure is simply to mix the [243] rice seed with the cucumber seeds so that it is put in the little seed-holes with them. Cucumbers are important for the Meau because they can be harvested as early as two or at most three months after sowing, hence at a time when the Meau have the least amount of food on hand, since the old harvest has been used up by then, but the new products are not yet ripe. In accordance with their cultivation together with the rice, cucumbers are cultivated in one field only as long as it is productive for rice cultivation.

6. Radishes of only a single type are known and customarily [243] cultivated among the Meau. Radish seeds, too, are mixed with the rice and hence cultivated simultaneously with it. Usually [262] they are eaten raw by the workers in the fields.

7. Beans. Four kinds of beans are planted at the same time as the rice but in special fields. For this a small hole is punched with the digging stick, two seed beans are put into it, and the planting hole is closed by a step with the heel as one walks on. Bean fields, which remain productive for two years, receive no further care; bean poles are unknown.

243 8. Maize, which is the principal food crop of the Meau in [184] Tonkin, on which Lajonquière (1) reports, is in only eighth

1. II, p. 309.

[244] place in northern Thailand. It is cultivated in three types and in general together with gourds in special fields. At the end of April at the earliest and the beginning of June at the latest, small holes are punched with the digging stick at intervals of half a meter. In them, besides three or four kernels of maize, two or three gourd seeds are always slipped [244] in, and the hole is closed. For the earliest types of maize the harvest begins as early as three months after sowing, which makes maize just as important as the likewise early ripening

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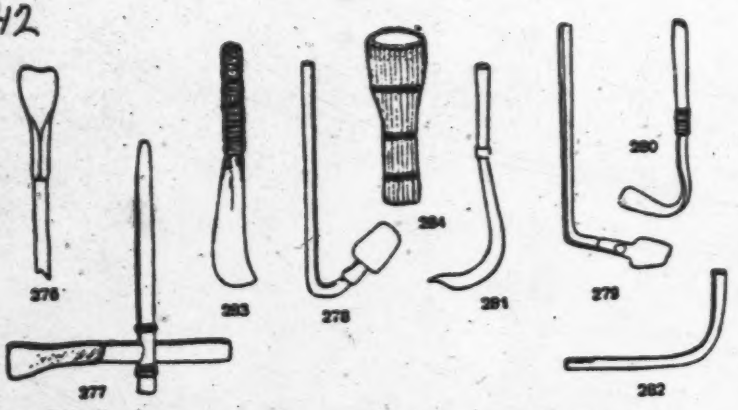
e) Animal Husbandry

M 231 [262] [782]

The Meau are good livestock raisers. The main emphasis is on the raising of pigs, because the animals are regarded not only as food, but also as the most important sacrificial animals. The Meau raise only a very primitive breed similar to the wild pig, which is crossed with the latter, since the domestic pigs run about freely in the villages and their surroundings during the day. At night, however, they are put in pens built especially for them.

M [417]

A 412



Figs. 276-284. Agricultural Equipment of the Akha.

Fig. 276. Digging stick, 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 277. Ax, 1/14 nat. size. Figs. 278-279. Field hoe, 1/28 nat size. Fig. 280. Weeding rake, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 281. Sickle, 1/12 nat. size. Fig. 282. Threshing flail of hard wood, oval in cross-section, 1/80 nat. size. Fig. 283. Jungle knife, 1/19 nat. size. Fig. 284. Sheath of bamboo, 1/18 nat. size.

A [243]

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81),[1] for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin, strong, modest, very capable, and very

[See cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

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231 The dogs kept in northern Thailand to guard the houses differ completely from the breed of dog that Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ described in his enumeration of the domestic animals of the Meau and from the animals described by Abadie (3) as having white, silky, longish, and very thick

3. Page 158.

fur. Innumerable barking dogs, red, black, and more rarely white in color, which resemble the Chinese chow, but are slenderer in body build and somewhat weaker, are found here. They feed on scraps and all kinds of refuse and, as has been mentioned, regard human feces as precious delicacies. For the Meau dogs are also animals to be killed in order to create a guardian spirit, as has /368/ been described in detail in the chapter, "Religion and Magic" (the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens"). The meat of dogs is not [262] eaten any more than is that of the numerous cats that watch for mice in the houses, granaries, and stables.

Chickens are also very important. They are present in every household and are identical with the small wild fowl, the original form of our domestic chicken. They, too, are put in special coops during the night by the Meau (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," Figs. 80-82) and are regularly fed twice a day. At harvest time they are taken in special carrying baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 338 and 339) to the harvested fields, in which abundant feed is still to be found. Abadie (1) gives a similar description about Indo-

1. Page 158.

china: "The poultry (chickens, turkeys, ducks, etc.) roam about freely during the day and sleep in a chicken coop which is usually above or next to the stable. Tiger cats, which are [136] common in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, often kill hecatombs of the poultry of the Meau."

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231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
[184] parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand, so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

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M 232 [463] In every village several men are masters at the art of castration and are paid by the others to practice this occupation. /370/ I had an opportunity to watch the castration of a cock, which did not last longer than four minutes. The Meau opened the body cavity of the animal three fingers above the anus, pulled out the reproductive glands with two fingers which he stuck deep into the opening, tied them up, and then simply tore them off. Then, with needle and thread, he first sewed the musculature and then the outer skin, and the cock was immediately actively running about again and looking for food. The amazing thing was that during the entire operation he had remained completely still.

M 237 231 ●262 Taking blood from living animals is unknown to the Meau in Thailand. On the other hand, the blood that flows from the opened neck artery during slaughtering is collected and consumed as food.

A 231 What has been said about the animal husbandry of the Meau generally applies among the Akha. The sequence followed for the domestic animals described, according to their significance for the Meau, is the same for the Akha; nevertheless there are a few differences. Among the Akha, too, the raising of pigs comes first; the fodder for these animals (Ill. 44) [1] is even prepared on special cooking places among them. On the other hand, during the night they, like the cattle, are not shut up in special pens, but stay under the dwellings, which stand on piles. During the day, they roam about freely (Ill. 46) [2] and, together with the dogs, burrow in the heaps of refuse which are present beside every house. Among the Akha, no differently than among the Meau, dogs as well as pigs devour the feces of human beings with special likings.

A [262] [493] [272] The Akha raise cattle for meat, the Meau more rarely. Like the latter, they use the animals as pack animals in regions that permit it. Strangely enough, the Akha, too, drink no milk, though I did not find a corresponding taboo, as among the Meau. Nevertheless, the obvious presumption is that among them, too, it is a matter of a forgotten prohibition of cultic origin which has become a habit.

1 [See cat 116, P 296 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " P 332 - " "]

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Chapter 18

Food and Stimulants

a) Food

262 In addition to the plants and animals mentioned in the preceding chapter, a great assortment of plants and roots from the primeval forest furnishes food for the Meau. One can say that the Meau eat the plants that they know and that bring no harm to the body. The Meau are positively eager to find out [824] which plants and fruits can be used by them. When, on their migrations, they come across a plant as yet unknown to them, leaves are immediately torn off, the fruits are smelled, and there is a discussion about how they could be used. The taste which the Meau develop in this way does not by any means correspond to our European taste, and they often consumed with obvious relish fruits of forest trees which were completely unpalatable to my European taste. The same can be said of the animals which are eaten. Even the civet cat, to whose meat a penetrating odor clings, is eaten, as well as beetle larvae, turtles, frogs, and toads. Besides the honey of wild bees, their larvae and pupae, as well as those of wasps and hornets, are eaten, and the latter two are even regarded as delicacies. In contrast, it is strange that all lizards, which occur in great numbers in northern Thailand, are disdained, whereas other [171] peoples settled there, the Lawa for instance, eat them with [266] passion. Among the things that are not eaten by the Meau are also snakes, worms, and human flesh. On the other hand, literally all the birds that the Meau are able to catch are eaten.

252 This wide selection of basic material is matched among [515] the Meau by the many ways of preparation. In this they are thoroughly clean, which is in strong contrast to the condition of the kitchens and houses. As /373/ a rule, it is the women, [462] who occupy themselves with the preparation of meals; if there is much work to be done, however, or if the women cannot do it for other reasons, say, pregnancy or childbirth, the men, too, occasionally cook.

/373 cont./

257 [251] Meat is either roasted over a fire or boiled in water in large or small pieces, and is also smoked without salt or salted and dried in the sun. Furthermore it may be fried in fat or oil. Cooking pits, as well as the use of hot stones for cooking, are unknown.

262 [252] As fat, lard is used primarily, but also the fat from hunting booty. It is added to the meat and to the vegetables during the cooking, but relatively little is taken for that.

The main emphasis in the daily diet, however, is not on meat, but rather on vegetable dishes, an observation that Lajonquière (1) also makes: "Meat and poultry are not part of

1. II, p. 302.

the daily diet, which is composed almost exclusively of maize, vegetables, and beans. It is used, however, on festive occasions." Abadie (2) reports similarly.

2. Page 159.

243 Today rice stands in first place among the Meau. It is first threshed with a wooden cudgel, and then the chaff is separated from the kernels by throwing the grain to be threshed from large flat baskets (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 343) into the air when there is as much side-wind as possible so that the chaff is carried away by it while the rice kernels fall back into the flat baskets. Finally the clinging leaves covering them are removed in a rice mortar, and the grain is ground in a mill which makes it possible to grind the rice into a coarser or finer flour as desired (chapter, "House Furnishings," Figs. 140-142).

262 252 The importance of rice as the principal foodstuff is shown by the many dishes prepared from it, a few of which will be described in the following. If the rice is to be prepared without any additional ingredients, it is first cooked for several minutes in plenty of water and then everything is poured on a plaited strainer under which a gourd bowl is placed to catch the starchy [231] [272] rice-water, which is drunk or fed to the animals. The rice

/373 cont./

252 remains in the strainer for later use. Before it is eaten, it is first put into a wooden steaming tube (chapter "House Furnishings," Fig. 153), in /374/ which it swells until it is done. For this purpose, plaiting is built into the lower part of the steaming tube as a strainer. The pot is filled with water up to the sieve, and the rice is poured on the sieve. The vessel is covered with a plaited lid and placed on the hearth in a water-filled iron vessel (for the vessels needed for the preparation of rice, see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils, Figs. 151-155).

[262] Ears of maize are eaten either raw in an unripe state or the ripe ears are broken off the stalk and allowed to dry. After that, with a special kernel remover (chapter, House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils, Fig. 168) the kernels are removed from the cob. Then the kernels are ground in the same mill that rice is ground in. Lajonquière (1), whose information

1. II, p. 302.

is confirmed by Abadie (2), reports on the use of maize in Tonkin:

2. Page 159.

"The maize is eaten either as porridge, like the buckwheat, or steamed or roasted."

Poppy seeds are either dried and then merely cooked tender and added to other food, or ground to a fine flour in the above-mentioned mill, seasoned with salt, and eaten as an accompaniment for rice.

Beans are both cooked tender as young green pods and then eaten, or one lets the pods mature and then eats the shelled beans cooked soft in water.

Tubers as well as wild roots are either roasted in the fire, cooked in water, or fried in fat.

[262] The Meau cook a mint-flavored green vegetable in salted water. Cucumbers are usually eaten by them raw in the fields, but they are also cooked and eaten as a vegetable.

262 /374 cont./
252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water,
[351] are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in
[245] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos, which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties
263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by
[317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the
[135] fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand
[171] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain
[439] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders (see the chapter, "Trade") and not obtained locally.

252 Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it,
[262] which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried
[251] in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsua) are made, three kinds of which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

/375 cont./

252 2. Rice is cooked and steamed until it is soft, and then it is beaten with sticks until a firm mush is produced. This dough is again shaped into small loaves which are either roasted at the open fire, fried in fat, or at least warmed up.

3. Ripe or almost ripe maize is ground, mixed with yeast, and kneaded into a dough. Now one lets the mass rest for half a day so that the yeast can work and finally proceeds exactly as in the first case.

252 /376/ The daily food, called ki šǒu, is made out of
262 steamed rice to which some meat which was first browned in
[263] oil and then cooked in water is sometimes added. Green vegetables and salt are also added to this "one-dish" meal. If the green vegetables are omitted, the dish is called kǐń kā.

hǒǔ tǎu is the name for peeled and diced squash, which, with the addition of water, is prepared without any spices.

tšǒ kǒu is a mixture of green vegetables which one lets dry in the sun for half an hour, then pulverizes, and adds some salt and rice. The mass is put into bamboo flasks and
[251] stored. After six days it has become sour and is then ready.

gǎ kǔo mǒ chǎu is nothing but meat that has simply been cooked in salt water.

tšī ěn kā́ is another meat dish, for which the meat is salted in the raw state and then roasted over an open fire.

tšǎ pě vā́ is a piquant dish. For it, liver, heart, and kidneys are cooked tender, cut into pieces, and mixed. The whole has fresh blood poured over it, and one also adds two varieties of onions and the pepper-like fruits of a forest plant.

tšǒu tǎu is made out of the thick skin of large game, even rhinoceros, elephants, and buffalo, the skin of the pachyderms being regarded as a special delicacy, whereas the skin of snakes, tigers, and panthers is not used. First of all the skin must lie in running water for days, until all the particles of meat have rotted off. Then a large fire is made, the skin is put into it with the hair side down, and then the hair is scraped off with a knife. This cleaned and scraped skin is now cooked for ten to twenty hours in large kettles until it is soft. Finally, it is cut into small pieces which are eaten either fried in oil or only accompanied with a spicy sauce.

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252 The blood of slaughtered animals, either fresh or cooked,
262 is happily eaten. Cooked, it is also added to other dishes.

A meatless dish consists of ground millet which is mixed with green vegetables and maize meal to form dumplings and cooked in water.

252 The eggs of all birds are eaten raw or cooked.

/377/ Without anything further, it is obvious from these descriptions that the preparation of the meals can indeed not be designated as primitive. It can be assumed that in the regions of Indochina, which are in every respect more favorable, the Meau will not practice simpler cooking, since more things in larger quantities are available to them. Nevertheless, Lajonquière (1) writes: "The preparation of food is primitive.

1. II, p. 303.

Rice, maize, and the other cereals are eaten cooked in salted water or made into mush. Vegetables are usually cooked in water, and meat is roasted in kettles. We shall always remember our first visit to the kitchen of the Lytruong of Pakha. There, whole quarters of buffalo were roasting and cooking in tremendous kettles, without any other ingredients than a few handfuls of salt, a little water, and their own fat. It was immense in quantity, but ignoble in preparation."

[114] [171] Aside from the fact that the author probably did not observe the preparation of food in detail, he is undoubtedly comparing Meau cooking with Chinese cooking, or with Annamese cooking, which is extensively influenced by the Chinese. In comparison with the excellent and highly sophisticated culinary art of these peoples, Meau cooking seems primitive indeed.

264 From Savina's description (2) we get an impression of

2. II, p. 192.

the everyday, very modest way of life of the Meau: "The Meau have two meals a day, one in the morning before going to the fields and one in the evening upon return. Often,

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M 264 [262] [412] [574] [562] however, they take something along in order to eat at noon. The meals consist of some coarse maize dough in a bucket, some beans, and some vegetables. Spoons or chopsticks are used. Only on festive occasions is meat eaten. Some pork is always smoked and saved for important guests."

Meals are eaten together, except when strangers are present as guests (Ill. 106, 107); even for the cold snack in the fields all sit down together.

A 262 No differently than the Meau, the Akha, too, in addition to their domestic animals and cultivated plants, use a great number of wild plants and all kinds of animals for food. Of the birds /378/ they disdain vultures and ravens, but not the hornbill. They also do not eat the numerous lizards ignored also by the Meau, as well as the larvae of flies, but on the other hand they do consume dogs, which are not eaten by the Meau.

A 252 [462] The preparation of meals among the Akha is likewise clean, but it differs in several ways from Meau cooking, while being related to it in the principal features. Among the Akha, too, it is usually the women who prepare the food, but the men very frequently help.

As a rule, the Akha cut meat into small pieces and cook it in water; they also chop it up, season it with spices, and then consume it raw. Curdled blood or the entrails of animals are prepared and eaten in the same way. Cooking pits and heated stones are also unknown to the Akha. Besides lard and the suet of the hunting booty, and in addition to the fats, the seeds of a sesame-like, oily plant must be mentioned. They A [782] are used in connection with offerings and simply by adding these seeds to the rice before it is cooked (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo").

A 251 [262] The basic foodstuff among the Akha is likewise rice, which is eaten at every meal. First of all it is freed from the husks and cleaned, and then it is ready to be cooked. Among the Akha its preparation is different then among the Meau. They soak it in water overnight and then cook it in the same

A [see cat 116, P706 - ANALYST]

/405 cont./

386 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill. 531 86).[1] She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying [415] bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

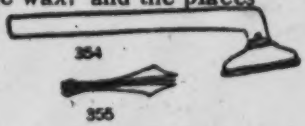

Fig. 354. Batik instrument of the Meau, 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although [513] hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are [411] sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for [262] knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants, " the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking, 412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their [177] disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83[2] and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [See Cat 116, p620 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " #597 - "]

39: Bernatzik--623 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 459/

142
262
291
302

Ill. 91. The tart meat of ripe squash tastes very good to the Meau boy.

/VIII cont./

286 Ill. 88. Weaving the spun material made from hemp. Portable horizontal loom with treadle device. The warp is stretched with the help of a belt around the loins. The woman at the loom is just about to strike home the sword (cf. Ill. 89).

Ill. 89. The weaver is making preparations for the woof. The shuttle is carved out of wood. The inserted bobbin, around which the hemp thread is wound, is made of bamboo. The stick that separates the two layers of thread is made out of the same material.

283 Ill. 90. Spinning machine. With its help, four threads, which the woman doing the spinning holds in her left hand, are twisted together. By means of the little stick in her right hand, she prevents the threads from becoming tangled. She turns the flywheel with both feet.

Ills. 91-96. The harvest.

262 [244] Ill. 91. The ripe squash at the edge of the fields of mountain rice are gathered. The juicy, tart meat of the raw fruit is especially tasty in the great heat.

243 Ill. 92. The stalks of the mountain rice are cut individually, with the help of the small crescent-shaped harvesting knife, about 30 centimeters below the ear and then bundled. The straw is left standing in the fields and rots.

Ill. 93. Bringing in the harvest. Each member of the family loads himself with as many bundles of ears in carriers and baskets as he can carry. Then there is a walk for hours over the narrow mountain paths to the village. [484] The men carry in their hands the crossbows with arrows in place ready to shoot.

/IX/

252 256 Ill. 94. Peculiar mills of the Meau. The lower-millstone half is fixed, the upper part is eccentrically attached to a horizontal pole. When the latter is swing back and forth, the movable-millstone half turns. A hole is chiseled in the top of it, through which the grain is poured in. According to whether the wooden axle which connects